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## Andy Warhol: Folk Artist in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction

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T.D. Richardson

**Andy Warhol:**  
Folk Artist in the Age of  
Mechanical Reproduction

Folklorists like to think that they are misunderstood, that no one appreciates how sophisticated their field really is. It all starts with the name. Although "folklorists" in Europe have followed the example of allied fields like Anthropology and Sociology and adopted an academic-sounding Greek-rooted word, *Ethnology*, to describe what they do, American Folklorists, out of stubbornness or pride, continue to identify what they do with the awkward sounding Anglo-Saxon compound "folklore," a word coined, in a parenthetical aside, by the British writer William Thoms in 1846. The problem with the word, however, isn't etymological: rather it's the word's popular connotations that prove most vexing for academic Folklorists. Folklore is commonly understood as knowledge that is spurious (so-called "old wives' tales," urban legends, rumor, etc.) or culture that is "backwards" (i.e. the culture of pre-industrial people, whether from the Australian Outback or Appalachia). Folklorists, consequently, are often seen as having an irrational devotion to dead and dying traditions, producers of scholarship that is, through association, "spurious" and "backwards."

Unfortunately, many Folklorists implicitly endorse this popular misunderstanding. A great deal of folklore scholarship (especially early to mid twentieth century scholarship) is devoted to the oral, "factually-

Andy Warhol

challenged" knowledge of "primitive" people in places like Appalachia (for too long, the seat of American folklore); and contemporary Folklorists continue to conceive of their "mission" as the preservation of culture endangered by "progress," the rationale behind the field's genesis. As a field of study, Folklore Studies developed as a modernist phenomenon, one that endeavored to preserve the "quaintness" of cultural traditions threatened by Western notions of progress. "In the modern world," Robert Cantwell writes in *Ethnomimesis: Folklife and the Representation of Culture*, "the idea of folklife belongs to the romantic tradition and, like that tradition, is a response to, an instrument of, and a phenomenon of modernity" (1993, xv). The idea is perhaps most clearly seen in that personification of modernity, Henry Ford: Ford sensed the threat that his production methods and their corresponding impact on American ways of life posed to "traditional" culture, a threat he attempted to defuse by showcasing his commitment to "country values" by hosting folk dancing and folk music festivals, eventually opening Greenfield Village, a large outdoor folk museum in Dearborn, Michigan in 1929 (Bronner 1986, 37).

In her history of the field *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*, Regina Bendix sees the folkloric escape from modernity typified in the field's historical emphasis on "authenticity." "Folklore has long served as a vehicle in the search for the authentic," she writes, "satisfying a longing for an escape from modernity. The ideal folk community, envisioned as pure and free from civilization's evils, was a metaphor for everything that was not modern" (1997, 7). Bendix contends that Folklore Studies has historically masked its antimodern impulses with this rhetoric of authenticity, a rhetoric that bestows on the field an unsustainable authority while draining energy from more meaningful possible contributions:

The idea of 'authentic folklore,' legitimated as a disciplinary subject through ever newly formulated shades of authenticity has situated the field of folklore at the margins of both society and the academy. The radical, utopian, and antimodern lure of the authentic, all at times made folklore and some of the discipline's ideas sociopolitically attractive, propelling it into momentary and sometimes, in hindsight, regrettable fame. The greatest strength of folklore studies is the perennial finger they hold to the pulse of what human beings, through their expressive culture, crave or fear most deeply. (1997, 21)

For Bendix, "authenticity" is a panacea for the disciplinary homelessness of Folklore Studies. She argues that Folklorists need to better acknowledge what they can do, to recognize that the strength of Folklore Studies isn't in the two-hundred-year-old quest to find, define, and preserve what is "genuine"—that mission was misguided from the first. The field's strength, rather, comes from its ability to see what people cherish most, whether authentic or inauthentic, in their everyday lives.

The last fifty years of American Folklore Studies has been characterized by a move away from the discipline's earlier antimodern impetus and an increasing emphasis on the progressive nature of folk culture. In order to create for themselves a sustainable position in the academy and society, Folklorists have struggled to define the field in a way that confronts modernity rather than retreating from it, an



endeavor exemplified by Dan Ben-Amos' generally accepted definition of folklore as "artistic communication in small groups." Ever since, critical texts like Richard Bauman's *Verbal Art as Performance* and Henry Glassie's *Material Culture*, watershed publications in the field, have emphasized, "that folklore is a contemporary, dynamic phenomenon, integral to every person's life, not a holdover from some earlier primitive stage of development" (Prahlad 1999, 573). Or as Ben-Amos himself put it: Folklore Studies "is not a research of the eleventh hour" (274).

As progressive as this all sounds, the popular conception of folklore hasn't kept pace with these forward-thinking ideas, in large part because most of the scholarship on the ground hasn't either. Bendix argues that the changes that have occurred over the last half-century have only altered the focus of folklore studies, not the assumptions: "the vocabulary of authenticity that permeated disciplinary discourse escaped the paradigmatic changes." She writes, "original, genuine, natural, naïve, noble and innocent, lively, sensuous, stirring—the string of adjectives could be continued. Folklorists since the eighteenth century have used them to circumscribe the longed-for quality that they saw encapsulated at first in folklore texts and later in folklore performance" (1997, 15). No amount of radical-sounding discourse can veil the fact that Folklorists are still more likely to conceptualize "folkness" as an antimodern phenomena found in preindustrial places.

As Folklore Studies continues its struggle to define itself in an age of mechanical reproduction, I think it proper for the discipline to look for examples and affinities in previously unexplored places, most notably in avant-garde art, similar to how James Clifford, looking for a model for anthropologists struggling to unburden themselves of the colonial assumptions underpinning their field, found inspiration in Surrealist Art. In *The Predicament of Culture*, Clifford notes the close relationship between ethnography and surrealism, particularly in Paris and New York between World Wars I and II, arguing that the two "methodologies" complemented one another: each approached the problem of modernity from different directions. "The ethnographic label suggests a characteristic attitude of participant observation among the artifacts of a defamiliarized cultural reality." Clifford writes, "The surrealists were intensely interested in exotic worlds, among which they included a certain Paris. Their attitude, while comparable to that of the fieldworker who strives to render the unfamiliar comprehensible, tended to work in the reverse sense, making the familiar strange, of which ethnography and surrealism are two elements" (1988, 121). Clifford calls this confluence "Ethnographic Surrealism," arguing that it provides a model through which anthropologists can reinvigorate their field.

Just as an appreciation for surrealist art complicates positively the modes and methods of anthropological ethnography, I believe an appreciation for Andy Warhol's pop art can complicate positively the modes and methods of folkloristic ethnography. Following Andy Warhol's example, Folklorists can generate new ethnographic content through new methods of representation, and, in the process, develop a Folkloristics that engages with modernity, one that leaves behind the cumbersome, misguided rhetoric of authenticity.

Connecting Warhol with American folklore isn't entirely unprecedented as he was a voracious collector of American folk art. In 1977, his folk art collection was

shown in the "Folk and Funk" exhibit at the American Museum of Folk Art, and he was, for a time, a member on that museum's board of trustees, albeit not a passionate member—On September 11, 1979, Warhol recalled in his diary his frustration that he "stupidly" paid thirty-five dollars to see an exhibit sponsored by the museum before he remembered he was a trustee and was entitled to free admittance; "I hate all that American Primitive Stuff now anyway," he said, "it looks like junk" (1989, 237). On March 31, 1986, he noted in his diary "The Folk Art Museum kicked me off the board of trustees! It was ridiculous anyway, but I mean, they never even bothered to send me a notification!" (1989, 722).

To think of Warhol as just a folk art collector, however, colossally underestimates his possession prowess: Warhol collected everything. Although his collections of American Indian art, early Americana and Art Deco were especially strong, he also had significant collections of movie memorabilia, Russel Wright ceramics, Fiestaware, women's shoes, all manner of pornography, perfumes, magazines, postcards, cigarette lighters, toasters, quilts, and this doesn't even scratch the surface—in 1988, his collection of ceramic cookie jars (he had called them "time pieces") sold for \$250,000; the six-volume catalogue for the Sotheby's auction of Warhol's estate was the largest ever published in the auction house's history (Reif 1988, C1).

I'm not arguing that Andy Warhol should be understood as a folk artist, but I do think that that argument can be made. Warhol is often credited (or blamed) for blurring the distinction between high and low art, but I have yet to encounter a serious consideration of how he blurred the distinction between fine and folk art—perhaps because the distinction is so blurry to begin with. Folk art is most commonly distinguished from fine art in its production: folk art is "practical art," the product of a craft or trade whereas fine art is the product of an individual's artistic vision—"the folk artist," Barre Toelken argues, "will tend to resolve the tension [between conservation of tradition and experimentation] in the direction of group consensus, while the fine artist will follow the impulse to resolve it by doing something new and dynamic" (1996, 221). Yet Warhol, canonized as a fine artist, was quite open about his preference for following group consensus in his paintings: "I was never embarrassed about asking someone, literally, 'What should I paint?'" he recalls in *Popism*, a curiously "ethnographic" memoir of life in and around The Factory in the 1960s. Further, if folk is interpreted as "craft" or "trade," Warhol's painting process used "folk methods." Silk screening was a commercial printmaking technique over a century old by the time Warhol started using it for "practical" reasons—"it was all so simple—quick and chancy" (1980, 22). Warhol's paintings are "traditional art" if "traditional" is understood in the folkloric sense: "Tradition is not some static immutable force from the past," Toelken writes in *The Dynamics of Folklore*, "but those pre-existing culture-specific materials and options that bear upon the performer more heavily than do his or her own personal tastes and talents. We recognize in the use of tradition that such matters as content and style have been for the most part passed on but not invented by the performer" (1996, 7).

For Folklorists however, an appreciation of Warhol's use of folk customs isn't as instructive as a consideration of Warhol's art as a form of avant-garde ethnography, one that used new methods of representation to make visible the folk



cultures he was both part of and witness to. Warhol didn't create culture, at least not in the traditional romantic sense of an isolated, distraught genius struggling to express his vision. Warhol represented culture. This is, I believe, what Warhol was implying with statements such as "If you want to know all about Andy Warhol, just look at the surface of my paintings and films and me, and there I am. There's nothing behind it" (Goldsmith 2004, 90). Such statements have facilitated the conception of Warhol as a passive mirror, a reflective surface that offers no comment, a reading of Warhol that belies the profound ethnographic significance of his work. Like all ethnographers, Warhol endeavored to represent culture, and although he would inevitably shape that representation, aestheticize it, determine its final form, he was ultimately bringing to light culture originating from the outside, culture he identified as "all the great modern things that the Abstract Expressionists tried so hard not to notice at all" (1980, 3).

On even the most superficial level (keeping in mind Warhol did call himself "a deeply superficial person"), Warhol *feels* like an ethnographer. His pose of cool detachment, of being in but not part of his surroundings, is decidedly ethnographic. Ethnographers stand at the margins of cultures; they are observers, ever alert to how others are expressing themselves. Michael A. Agar calls ethnographers "professional strangers," individuals who participate in culture but never completely, always maintaining a degree of observational distance (1996). I think Warhol would like being called a "professional stranger" as it's how he often presented himself: "A lot of people thought it was me everyone at the Factory was hanging around, that I was some kind of big attraction that everyone came to see, but that's absolutely backward: it was me who was hanging around everyone else" (1980, 74).

Warhol wasn't just any observer, however: he was a savvy one, evidenced by the following description of his tape recorder, the ethnographer's essential fieldwork tool:

I didn't get married until 1964 when I got my first tape recorder. My wife. [...] The acquisition of my tape recorder really finished whatever emotional life I might have had, but I was glad to see it go. Nothing was ever a problem again, because a problem just meant a good tape, and when a problem transforms itself into a good tape, it's not a problem any more. An interesting problem was an interesting tape. You couldn't tell which problems were real and which problems were exaggerated for the tape. Better yet, the people telling you the problems couldn't decide any more if they were really having problems or if they were just performing. (1980, 26-27)

On one level, Warhol's description of his obsessive field recordings—he produced over 10,000 hours of audio by the time of his death—highlights the opportunistic detachment of fieldwork; "Fieldworkers," John Van Maanen writes, "learn to move among strangers while holding themselves in readiness for episodes of embarrassment, affection, misfortune, partial or vague revelation, deceit, confusion, isolation, warmth, adventure, fear, concealment, pleasure, surprise, insult, and

always possible deportation" (1988, 2). More significantly, Warhol articulates the performative nature of what was recorded, and he does so four years before Richard Bauman would revolutionize Folklore Studies with essentially the same observation: "Verbal art may comprehend both myth narration and the speech expected of certain members of society whenever they open their mouths, and it is performance that brings them together in culture-specific and variable ways, ways that are to be discovered ethnographically within each culture and community" (1977, 291).

What makes Warhol's detached pose ethnographic rather than merely voyeuristic are the representations that followed, representations that were not invasive or prurient (well, maybe sometimes), but rather compassionate, sophisticated representations of American folk expression. In his art, Warhol represented the informal customs of various folk communities, groups ranging from gay subculture to high society to American consumers in general. The definitions of folklore are many and I'm not going to settle the issue here; I will just say that folklore consists of those cultural elements that slip through the cracks, the unrecorded (meaning untextualized), informal aspects of community experience, the substance of so much of Warhol's work.

Folklore is easiest to identify when it belongs to someone else, a consequence of the Western paradigm that argues what "we" have is culture and what "they" have is folklore: The closer it is to home, the harder it is to see; or, to steal an allusion from Anand Prahlad, as the Zen proverb says "The fish in the water cannot see that they are wet" (1999, 568). Unlike the Surrealists who sought ethnographic inspiration in exotic, foreign cultures, Warhol found inspiration in the cultures around him, in the folk customs of the drug users and wealthy Manhattanites he encountered daily, in the new traditions of industrial American consumerism:

Pop was everywhere—that was the thing about it, most people still took it for granted, whereas we were dazzled by it—to us, it was the new Art. Once you 'got' Pop, you could never see a sign the same way again. And once you thought pop, you could never see America the same way again. [...] We were seeing the future and we knew it for sure. We saw people walking around in it without knowing it, because they were still thinking in the past. But all you had to do was know you were in the future, and that's what put you there. (1980, 39-40)

By representing these new customs, this new culture, he made the folklore of American modernity that was visible to him, visible to everyone: "Warhol's embracing of industrial culture makes our own recent past into something distant enough that we can see it with new eyes and make it our own, in every sense that such ownership implies" (Tinkcom 2002, 55).

The ethnographic aspect of Warhol's art can be seen most clearly in his films. During a five-year span in the 1960's Warhol made more than sixty films, all of which provided a venue through which the people around him could showcase everyday behavior, sometimes spectacular, sometimes mundane—Warhol recalled "I only wanted to find great people and let them be themselves and talk about what



they usually talked about and I'd film them for a certain length of time and that would be the movie" (1980, 110). Catherine Russell, in *Experimental Ethnography*, remarks that in Warhol's films, "the denizens of his factory become a little like the ethnographer's 'own' villagers, whom he or she has come to know well enough to film" (1999, 17).

Warhol films like *Eat*, *Kiss*, and *Sleep* are named for the folk customs they chronicle. That last one, *Sleep*, may not seem like a folk custom (everyone, regardless of their folk group, has to sleep), but Warhol explained the film, six and a half hours of John Giorno sleeping, as if he were salvaging folk behavior:

I could never really figure out if more things happened in the sixties because there was more awake time for them to happen in (since so many people were on amphetamine), or if people started taking amphetamine because there were so many things to do that they needed more awake time to do them in. [...] Seeing everybody so up all the time made me think that sleep was becoming pretty obsolete, so I decided I better quickly do a movie of a person sleeping. (1980, 33)

Similarly, after seeing Warhol's film *Kitchen*, Norman Mailer wrote, "I think Warhol's films are historical documents. [...] I suspect that a hundred years from now people will look at *Kitchen* and say, 'Yes, that is the way it was in the late Fifties, early Sixties in America. That's why they had the war in Vietnam. That's why the rivers were getting polluted. That's why there was typological glut. That's why the horror came down. That's why the plague was on its way.' *Kitchen* shows that better than any other work of that time" (qtd in Stein 1994, 234). As obnoxious as his jeremiad is, Mailer sees *Kitchen* like Warhol saw *Sleep*, as a representation of the day-to-day goings-on of a culture undergoing rapid change.

But like so much of Warhol's art, it isn't that he simply reflected what he saw: His significance is in what he chose to represent. Warhol wasn't passively archiving the experiences of post-War America: he was bringing to light cultural traditions that had, until then, been invisible. Warhol was, in the words of Catherine Russell, "an ethnographer of a particular subculture" (1999, 170). The first of his films to be publicly screened, *Kiss*, features a sequence of three and one half minute shots of couples kissing. "The film becomes a documentary of a promiscuous culture," Russell argues, "naturalizing bisexuality, homosexuality, and interracial sexuality within the conventions of the cinematic kiss" (1999, 172). By selecting these folk groups for representation, Warhol made their culture, previously ignored or taken for granted, visible.



Figure 1. Warhol, Andy. *Kiss*.

A similar but less apparent ethnographic impulse is present in his paintings. Warhol didn't design the Coke bottle, the Campbell's soup cans, the Brillo box; he didn't even take the photograph of Marilyn Monroe he would make ubiquitous through replication. In each instance, Warhol represented another craftsman's work: he was, in a way, "collecting" one of modernity's invisible folk arts: commercial art. "Folk art is often described as extraordinary art by ordinary people." Kenneth L. Ames writes: "This glib definition oversimplifies the matter more than a bit, for much of the best 'folk art' is the work of paid professionals working outside the milieu of elite art" (2002, 85). As a former commercial artist, Warhol knew the talent and ingenuity of artists like Earl R. Dean, designer of the Coke bottle, and Steve Harvey, designer of the Brillo box, folk artists whose work was taken for granted until Warhol made their artistry visible through ethnographic representation. "The thought that must have gone into [Harvey's] design for Brillo was almost certainly closer to real artistic thought than whatever went through Warhol's mind in inventing Brillo Box as sculpture," Arthur C. Danto contends. "Warhol merely selected what Harvey had wrought and turned it into art without changing anything" (2001, 31). Only Warhol didn't turn the Brillo Box into art: it was already art, folk art, even if Steve Harvey, its craftsman, didn't see it that way—Harvey, a frustrated Abstract Expressionist painter, worked as a commercial artist to pay the bills; he didn't consider his design art, saying "it was a mechanical sort of thing. I could do it in my sleep" (qtd in Gaddy 2007).

The most ethnographically engaging of Warhol's media is, for me, his grandest and least studied project, the Time Capsules. Starting sometime around 1974, Andy Warhol began collecting the miscellany of his life—personal correspondence, magazines, source materials, ticket stubs, half-eaten food, etc.—in cardboard boxes he kept by his desk. He describes the process in *The Philosophy of Andy*



Warhol: "What you should do is get a Figure 2 Warhol, Andy. One Hundred Brillo box for a month, and drop everything in it and at the end of the month lock it up. Then date it and send it over to Jersey. You should try to keep track of it, but if you can't and you lose it, that's fine, because it's one less thing to think about, another load off your mind." When Warhol died, he left behind roughly 600 of these boxes, each an intimate and disjointed chronicle of the day-to-day goings-on of an artist and his community. Now housed in the Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh, the Time Capsules have only recently attracted serious critical attention, largely because so few were aware of what Warhol had been doing.

John W. Smith, assistant director for collections and research at The Andy Warhol Museum, compares the contents of the Time Capsules to the "artistic and ethnographic" contents of Wunderkammern, "fetish cabinets" which housed objects



that defied official categorization (they were a precursor to the "popular antiquities" tradition which was, in turn, a precursor of contemporary Folklore Studies). Smith contends that Warhol's Time Capsules "identify him not only as an artist of vast and far-ranging interests, but also as a humanist with a desire to catalogue and instill a sense of order to his world" (2003, 13). "Through the Time Capsules," Smith writes, "Warhol created a thorough, though often cryptic, diary of his life and the worlds through which he moved" (2003, 12). The Time Capsules were, in other words, a form of ethnography, a peculiarly autoethnographic one: by collecting the minutia of his life and giving it form in boxes, Warhol was representing not only who he was, but the culture of which he was a part.

The ethnographic form of the Time Capsules is essential. "The incongruity between the different items taps an energy source that enables us to see emotionally." Mario Kramer writes in his introduction to *Andy Warhol's Time Capsule 21*, "The rational form of the box, by contrast, concentrates that abundance" (2003, 15). This, I believe, captures the essence of Warhol's ethnographic impulse, and, really, of all ethnography: the substance of ethnography, the experiences gained in "the field," are disparate, discrete, troubling in their incongruity, but the incongruity is reconciled (even if only superficially) when it is shaped into an ethnography. What makes Warhol's approach unique is that he didn't reconcile the jumble of field experiences through textualization: he did it through spatialization; he gave form to everyday cultural expressions by putting them into boxes.

These "ethnographic spaces" Warhol created provide, I believe, an example for a new form of folkloristic ethnography, one that engages with modernity rather than retreating from it. There's a picture of the Time Capsules as they're stored at the Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh, all stacked neatly and symmetrically, blending into a blur of cardboard. Yet hidden within this field of sameness are unimaginable treasures—each box tells a different story about a different period of Warhol's life; one need only open a Time Capsule to reveal the uniqueness belied by their apparent uniformity. The contents of each box are, individually, cultural detritus; but within the frame of sameness of the Time Capsules en masse, they become a portrait of Warhol's milieu at a specific time, of the occupations and preoccupations

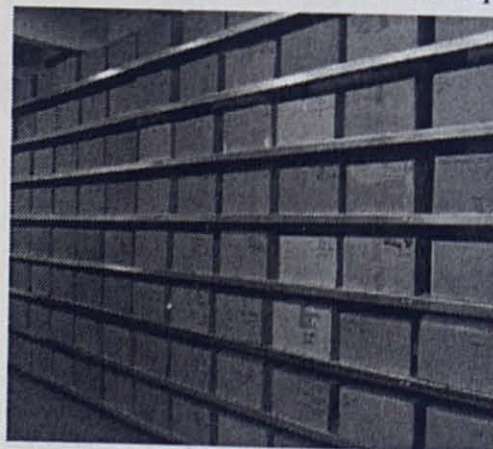


Figure 3. The Archives Study Center at the Andy Warhol Museum.

of an artist and his community. His obsessive collecting employed the same sophisticated ethnographic maneuver, a maneuver at the core of his work throughout media. On one level, Warhol's collections, as Matthew Tinkcom puts it, "characterize how we engage with the profusion of objects made possible by life in industrial society," which is, in itself, a form of folkloristic ethnography in the age of mechanical reproduction (2002, 50). Yet it is important to remember that Warhol wasn't interested in the authenticity of his possessions—"I don't know where the artificial stops and the real starts" he famously remarked. He embraced mass-produced objects as valuable

objects regardless of their "sameness." In fact, it was their "sameness" which drew him to objects: "Like the silk screen process," Jonathan Flatley observes, "collecting is a machine for the production of similarities: the collector translates an object from one system—the one defined by the various necessities of everyday life—into another, one organized by likeness" (2002, 101).

But a collection can also be "a machine for the production of aesthetic difference" (Flatley 2002, 100). "Authenticity," Regina Bendix points out, "is generated not from the bounded classification of an Other, but from the probing comparison between self and Other, as well as between internal and external states of being" (1997, 17). Warhol, conversely, didn't compare self and other; he compared self and self. Whereas ethnographic texts have traditionally endeavored to search for authenticity in other cultures, Warhol generated authenticity through the creation of ethnographic spaces, spaces that engendered difference through the juxtaposition of sameness—" [Warhol] presciently understood the importance of the objects as they express different sensibilities that arise within American popular modernism, and their meanings are enhanced by the contrast made apparent when the different lines are seen side-by-side" (Flatley 2002, 55).

Warhol's strategy resembles a common approach in traditional Folklore Studies, the one exemplified by Stith Thompson's *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, a six-volume classification of every known folk motif, and the central text of Folklore Studies for most of the twentieth century. But there's an important difference between the two approaches: unlike Thompson who identified pure motif forms and arranged variations accordingly, Warhol didn't represent pure forms. No single Marilyn in his Marilyn Diptych is *the* Marilyn. Warhol arranges the images in an ethnographic space through which the uniqueness of each becomes apparent, and since no one image is definitive, each is "authentic." When Warhol said he didn't know what was artificial, he inverted the more common postmodern lament "I don't know what's real." For Warhol, the issue wasn't a scarcity of "authenticity"—it was the surplus of "authenticity" generated by the juxtaposition of apparent sameness, whether it was Marilyns, kisses, Campbell's Soup cans or Cookie Jars he was juxtaposing.

This, more than the subject of his representations, is what Folklorists should take from Warhol: everything's authentic. Far from being the end of difference, the age of mechanical reproduction is an age of infinite "folkness." As James Clifford encourages anthropologists to experiment with surrealistic collage as an ethnographic form, I encourage Folklorists to experiment with Warholian serialization as an ethnographic form. Instead of looking for "authenticity" in exotic, preindustrial communities, Folklorists can create ethnographic spaces that generate new authenticities through the juxtaposition of sameness. In doing so, the discipline might be able to create for itself a sustainable position in the age of mechanical reproduction.

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Studies, Neo-Avant-Garde practice, and conceptualizations of authenticity. He is currently completing his dissertation, *I is Authentic*, in which he argues against Folklore Studies' scientific turn over the last half-century, contending that folklorists should revisit the "quackery and dilettantism" that characterize their disciplinary progenitors.

#### Illustrations

Figure 1. Warhol, Andy. *Kiss*. 1963. film still. © The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York.

Figure 2. Warhol, Andy. *One Hundred Brillo Boxes*. 1960. Silkscreen on wood. 20 x 20 x 17 in. © The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York.

Figure 3. The Archives Study Center at the Andy Warhol Museum. 2007. © The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts/ARS, New York.

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